

The Buddha's *cuda*, Hair, *usnisa*,
and Crown.

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the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, October, 1928.]

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The Buddha's *cūḍā*, Hair, *uṣṇīṣa*, and Crown

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc.

(PLATES IV AND V)

A MODERN student of Buddhism, unfamiliar with Buddhist art, and accustomed to think of the Buddha only as a human and historical figure, would naturally expect to find the Śākya sage represented in art like any other Buddhist friar, with a shaven (*munda*) head; and to suppose that such representations could only have existed as memorials, and not as objects of a cult. As a matter of fact, however, the Buddha is always represented, although not in royal garb, as a deity, with a nimbus, lotus or lion throne, and certain physical peculiarities proper to the conception of a Mahā-Puruṣa and Cakravartin or King of the World. But crowned and otherwise ornamented Buddhas are not unknown, and again, the earliest Indian type differs in several respects from the established formula of the Gupta and later periods. Thus the Buddha iconography presents a number of difficult problems; and amongst these are those referred to in the title of this paper.

Texts implying the deification of the Buddha, and in which he is spoken of as possessing all the characteristic marks or a (or the) Mahā-Puruṣa (Great Male, also a designation of Nārāyaṇa) and Cakravartin (Universal Emperor, or King of the World) are certainly older than the oldest images, which may be assigned to the first century A.D., if we take the year of accession of Kanīṣka as A.D. 120. Thus we are quite at liberty to suppose that the images are intended to be visual realizations of literary descriptions, as is normally the case in Indian iconography.¹ It is true that images of the greater Hindu deities had certainly become familiar in the last centuries preceding the beginning of the Christian era, and

¹ I have not thought it necessary to discuss here the apocryphal accounts of earlier images of the Buddha.

images of Yakṣas and Nāgas still earlier ; and true also that the early Buddha and Bodhisattva figures are demonstrably closely related to those of these other deities.¹ But there is no real contradiction in these statements ; for the same literary ideas, the same racial conceptions of ideal form, expressed in terms of physiognomy, which we find in the Buddhist works referred to below, are not so much of Buddhist as of Brāhmanical (and ultimately of popular) origin.

It is a familiar fact that in India styles of art and fashions in iconography are not sectarian, but characteristic of period or place ; images of quite different deities are sometimes distinguished only by minor iconographic peculiarities, and mistakes in identification may be made by those who are not expert iconographers. It is even not unusual in India to meet with cases of old Buddhist figures or figures of Yakṣas now worshipped under other names as orthodox Hindu divinities. In truth, the distinction between a seated Buddha, a seated Jina, and Maheśvara as Mahāyogī, are not apparent at first glance. A general similarity of types was even more noticeable in and before the Kuṣāna period, before the use of additional arms, bearing identifying attributes, became general. Here the fundamental formula is that of a standing figure, often colossal, in royal garb (ascetic costume only in the cases of the Buddha and Śīva) with the right hand raised in a gesture of assurance, the left beside, or on, the hip, sometimes holding a part of the drapery, or some object or attribute. The standing Buddha and Bodhisattva figures are of this kind, but the Buddha is almost always in ascetic garb. The distinction between a Buddha and Bodhisattva figure is not always as evident as might be expected.² In any case it

¹ See my "Origin of the Buddha Image", *Art Bulletin*, 1927.

² Thus, Friar Bala's figure at Sārnāth, and the Kaṭrā Mound figure, Mathurā (*H.I.I.A.*, figs. 83, 84) are described in the inscriptions as Bodhisattvas, though entirely without ornaments, while the similar figure from Anyor, Mathurā, is called a Buddha ; see Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, p. 40 and pl. viii. All three undoubtedly represent Gautama.

A similar problem is rarely met with in the literature. But in *Sutta-*

is important to realize that iconographic questions in connexion with the Buddha figure cannot be isolated, but must be approached as parts of the general problem of Indian iconographic history, though always with special reference to the minor details of sectarian differentiation and variations characteristic of place and period.

From the point of view of the problems posed in our title Buddha figures (Jinas included in groups 1 and 3) may be classified as follows: (1) The head smooth, with a conical, spirally twisted projection on the crown of the head (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). Let us not take it for granted that the head is shaved, or that the projection is an *uṣṇīṣa*. This is the early Kuṣāna type, rarely seen after the second century, and never after the fifth. As both the oldest Indian type, and evolved in what was probably the most important Buddhist centre in and before the Kuṣāna period, this type may be regarded as having most authority.¹

(2) The early Gandhāran type, with long flowing locks gathered together on top of the head to form a top-knot; often with a moustache.² In the main contemporary with the last, later replaced by

(3) Type with a definite cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa* in this sense), the whole head together with the protuberance

Nipāta, v. 48 (*Dialogues*, ii, 2), in the story of the meeting of Gautama and Bimbisāra, the former is called Buddha, although the event took place seven years before the Enlightenment, i.e. "before he had become a Buddha in the later technical sense".

In general, and always in Gandhāra, Gautama is represented as a Buddha from the Great Renunciation onwards, and not merely after the attainment of Buddhahood.

A marked divergence between the texts and the art is to be observed in the fact that the former almost always speak of the Bodhi tree as a *nyagrodha*, the latter represent it as a *pippala*.

¹ For (1) see *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 79, 83-6, and 96; Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pl. ci, 2; Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, pls. iiic and vii; Scherman, in *Pantheon*, 1928, Heft 3. The spiral conical projection is often broken away.

² For the Gandhāra type, see Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, passim; *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 89, 90, 94; and countless other published examples.

being covered by small short curls. This type appears about the middle of the second century A.D., and rapidly becomes the general rule both in Mathurā and in Gandhāra, spreading from both areas through Khotān and Kuca to the Far East, and through Veṅgī (Amarāvati, etc.) to the south-east of Asia. The vast majority of extant Buddha figures belong to this type. In a comparatively late form, commonest in Siam, but not unknown in Southern India and Ceylon, the *uṣṇīṣa* is surmounted by a pointed flame.¹

(4) Buddha figures with a crown (rarely a turban), and sometimes other ornaments. Rare in the Kuṣāna period (Pl. V, Fig. 8); one at Bodh-Gayā; common in the Pāla art of Bihār and Bengal, still commoner in Indo-China.² The type is of course appropriate for Bodhisattvas and in representations of Gautama's First Meditation; it presents a problem only when the personage represented is undoubtedly Gautama subsequent to the Great Renunciation.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to discuss the history and terminology of the royal headdress.

Literary sources establish the fact that the turban constituted a distinctive mark of royal birth or royal or divine dignity. Thus, in Vedic usage a turban is specified as worn by the king on the occasion of Vājapeya, and Rājasūya (coronation) ceremonies, and by Brahman students at the completion of their studies, though not subsequently in daily life.³ In the *Mahābhārata* (I, 170, 13) a particular friend of Kuvera

¹ For (3) *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 98, 100, 101, and 158-61 are typical. Thousands of examples could be cited.

² For the crowned type see references in Majumdar, *Adi-Buddha in the Eastern School of Art*, in Varendra Research Soc., *Ann. Rep.*, 1926-7, together with Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 236, Sahni in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 60, and *M.F.A., Bulletin* No. 132, etc.

³ The modern turban (*pagrī*) is still in eastern seminaries the symbol of graduation: "the disciple is *in statu pupillari* until the dignity of a Pagri is conferred on him by the hands of his master." Further, "The Pagri is tied as a symbol of succession when the head of a religious brotherhood dies and another is elected or nominated in his place" (Yusuf Ali, *Monograph on the silk fabrics of the N.W.P. and Oudh*, 1900, p. 77). See also *Agni Purāna*, ch. xc.

is called "the turban upon the head of Kuvera", i.e. as dear to him as the kingship itself. In the *Nidānakathā* (Fausboll, *Jātaka*, l. 60), when Prince Siddhattha is for the last time clad in royal splendour, the ceremony being performed at Indra's behest by Vissakamma himself, great stress is laid on the winding of the turban, while the other garments and ornaments are taken for granted.

In very early terracottas and in the oldest reliefs of Bhājā enormous turbans are represented. Those of the Śuṅga period (e.g. Bharhut) are similar, but slightly smaller; they seem to be made of flowered muslin, and are always arranged to show a large round ball of the same material in front, above the forehead, like a crest; the muslin is bound up with the hair, of which a good deal can be seen. At Sāncī the type persists, but the folds of the turban proper cross above the forehead more symmetrically, as in Southern India at the present day; less of the hair can be seen. In the Kuṣāna period the turban is again a little smaller; it has the same symmetrical folds, but the ball in front is replaced by an ornamented, slightly convex disc, through the centre of which the ends of the turban material seem to be knotted (Pl. IV, Fig. 4; Pl. V, Figs. 6 and 7); the hair is only seen immediately above the forehead.¹ So far it does not appear that the royal head was ever shaven, in whole or part; as a rule the hair is visible under the edge of the turban on the forehead and in the same way at the sides; there are no locks falling on the shoulder, and it must be assumed that the mass of the hair is coiled

¹ To judge from some of the sculptures (Pl. V, Fig. 7, and Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pl. ci, 1), the ornamented disc, as it appears in front view, could be regarded as the front part of a sort of helmet covering the top of the head, and placed in position before the folds of the material were wound on; but this appearance is merely the result of a technical exigency, as a thin metal plaque could not be represented in stone without solid material behind to support it. In a few cases only the crest of the Kuṣāna turban is placed at the side of the forehead, and there are no folds crossing above the forehead, but the turban material covers the top of the head (Smith, loc. cit., pl. lxxxvi, 1); but this is exceptional.

on the top of the head within the folds of the turban. So far, too, no kind of crown is represented¹; but the fan-shaped crest or disc of the Kuṣāna turban is evidently made of metal, doubtless of gold. Nothing like a gem (stone) can be recognized; we must either accept a divergence of texts and art on this point or suppose that the *maṇi* or *maṇi-ratana* of the former refers to this plaque, which may have been jewelled.² In any case this Kuṣāna turban with the disc is of chief importance from our point of view, not only because it is the one in general use at the time of the development of the Buddha image, but also contemporary with most of the texts in which the *cūḍā-chedana* is described. Further, the form is widely distributed, occurring not only in Mathurā, but also in Amarāvati and Ceylon.

Now as regards the accounts and nomenclature of the texts. Those in question are (1) the *Mahāvastu*, (2) the *Lalita Vistara*, (3) *a*, the *Buddha-carita*, Sanskrit, and *b*, the same, Chinese version, and (4) the *Nidānakathā* (Jātaka commentary); ranging in all from perhaps the second or first century B.C. to the fifth A.D. We cannot rely on the published translations, as they do not always consistently render the same word in the same way, and were not made with the present

¹ The word *mukuta*, indeed, is used in the *Buddha-Carita* account, but *Makuṭa-bandhana*, the name of the shrine at which the cremation of the Buddha's body took place (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*), suggests that *makuṭa* may in some cases imply a turban rather than a crown. *Mukuṭa* is also used of a woman's headdress: *Lalita Vistara*, episode of the sleeping women, ch. xv, Lefmann, p. 206.

Nothing like a crown appears in the art before the Gupta period, except in connexion with Indra, whose crown (*kirīṭa*) is evidently of metal (see my article on Indra in *Eastern Art*, vol. i, No. 1).

² In another connexion, where a jewelled turban is cited as typical of a rich layman's costume, we find *maṇi-kanaka-vicitta-molibaddho* "gem and gold decorated head-binding"; and *maṇi-muttā-kañcana-vicitta-molibaddho*, "gem and pearl and gold decorated head-binding" (*Milinda-paṇha*, iv, 16, 6, and vi, 2 = Trenckner, pp. 243, 348). These terms suggest the typical Kuṣāna turban with its jewelled crest. In *Jātaka* 546 (Cowell, p. 369) the *maṇi* is stolen from the royal *cūḍā*; here *cūḍā* cannot mean hair alone, but the turban or crest of the turban, while *maṇi* may be a single gem. For *molibaddho* = *mauḍabaddha*, see Appendix.

problem in view ;¹ the same applies to the Dictionaries, which, perhaps rightly, give alternative meanings ("hair", and "headdress") for the most important terms. Only the context can supply the meaning ; and it must be confessed it is not always quite clear, nor always in agreement with the reliefs.

In the *Mahāvastu*² we find : " 'How can I retain this *cūḍā* ? ' And the Bodhisattva having cut off the *cūḍā* with his sword, it was received and worshipped (*pūjyati*) by Śakra, chief of the gods. And it is called *cūḍāmaha*."

In the *Lalita-Vistara*³ we have : " 'How can I retain this *cūḍā* ? ' And, cutting off with his sword the *cūḍā*, he cast it to the winds. It was received by the gods of the Trāyastriṃśa heavens, with intent to worship it (*pūjyārtham*), and even to this day the *cūḍāmaha* is honoured by the Trāyastriṃśa gods. There, too, a temple (*caitya*) was built. And even to this day it is known as that of the Reception of the Crest-relic (*cūḍāpratigrahaṇam*)."

In both cases Foucher renders *cūḍā* by "mèche"⁴ ; in the case of the *Lalita-Vistara*, Foucaux by "touffe de cheveux".⁵ Both renderings are insufficient, for even though the hair be with it (*molinā-saddhim cūla* of the *Nidānakathā*), it is by no means the most conspicuous part of the *cūḍāmaha* ; except at Bharhut (Fig. A) the hair cannot be distinguished in the sculptured representations. *Cūḍā*, as will further appear below, is used to designate the whole turban together with the hair within it, and this is the *Cūḍāmahā* of the texts and the Bharhut inscription : I translate "Crest-relic", rather than "Hair-relic" on the one hand, or "Turban-relic" on the other, in order to avoid a too precise limitation of the meaning. In any case all the terms for "headdress" must be understood with reference to contemporary fashions.

¹ Most of the translations lay too much stress on the hair.

² Senart, *Mahāvastu*, ii, pp. 165, 166.

³ Lefmann, *Lalita-Vistara*, i, 225, 21 (ch. xv).

⁴ *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, p. 363.

Lalita-Vistara, p. 197.

The *Buddha-carita*, Sanskrit version¹ has "with his sword he cut off the decorated turban together with the hair and tossed it with its trailing strands into the air, like a beauteous (flying) goose"; in the text . . . *citram mukutaṃ sakeśam, vikīryamāṇāmśukam antarikṣe cikṣepa cainam sarasīva hamsam*. Here the reference to the trailing strands (*amśuka*) shows clearly that the *mukuta* is a turban, and not a crown or tiara; the whole description suggests a Śuṅga rather than a Kuṣāna headdress. In the following verse the turban is received by the gods, with intent to worship it, *pūjābhilāsenā*.

In the Chinese version of the *Buddha-carita* (= No. 1351 of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*) we find a precise and definite phrasing which evidently follows closely the Indian original.² The Chinese text has *pao kuan lung hsüan fa ho ti* "jewelled crown enclosing black hair together shaved". *Pao kuan* is evidently *citram mukutaṃ*; and if *kuan*, which is used only for headgear worn by men of high rank, means crown rather than turban, this may be due either to the exigencies of translation, or to the use of *mukutaṃ* in the original, or finally to the fact that crowns had come into use by the time of Dharmarakṣa's translation, made in the fifth century A.D. It would also be possible to render *pao kuan* more vaguely as "precious headdress". The next word *lung* means a basket, but is used as a verb, "enclosing"; it renders the *sa* of *sakeśam*, but is more specific. In the following verses, where the gods receive the headdress, only the word *fa* "hair", is used, where we should expect *kuan*; but this is the only indication afforded by any of the texts of special importance attached to the hair itself. There is no word in the original Sanskrit for *hsüan*, "black," but allusions to the blackness of the Bodhisattva's hair are not uncommon in the texts elsewhere.

¹ Cowell, *Buddha-carita*, vi, 57.

² I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Chie Hirano, for looking up this source with me. Beal's version in *S.B.E.*, 45, "hair with its jewelled stud," is altogether unsatisfactory.

The *Nidānakathā* is most informative.¹ In the *alamkaraṇa* scene, where Vissakamma himself winds the turban (*veṭhana*), when the Bodhisattva is for the last time adorned in regal splendour (it is therefore this very turban that becomes the Crest-relic), its folds are apparently multiplied a thousand-fold by reason of the brightness "of the *maṇi-ratana* on the *sīsa-moliya*". *Maṇiratana* referring to the Kuṣāna turban can only mean the fan-shaped jewelled crest, which was evidently held in place while the folds of the turban were laid on, as its effects appear from the time when the first fold is made, and continue until the tenth and last is completed; we must accordingly understand the brightness "of the jewelled crest on the topknot". Proceeding to the *cūḍāchedana* scene, we have the words *keṣa*, hair in the general sense of the word, and *veṭhana*, turban, requiring no comment. Then we find that the Bodhisattva, "grasping the *cūḷa* together with the *moli* (*moliyā saddhim cūḷam*)"² in his left hand,

¹ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 60, 64.

² *Saddhim*, of course, governs the word preceding it. The *Buddha-carita* has *sa-keśam*. As regards *moli*: per se, it is "head" or "hair", and might perhaps be rendered best by "head of hair". I have retained the "topknot" of former authors, although we do not really know for certain that the Bodhisattva's long hair was tied in a topknot.

In the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Story of Aḡaḍadatta, 101 (Meyer, p. 251) a Brāhmanical ascetic is described as *muṇḍiyasirakucacaccūla*, rendered by Meyer "who wore a sheaf of hair on his bald head by way of a crown-tuft"; and in a footnote more literally "crowntufted by means of a bunch of hair on his shaven head", adding that *cūḍā* means a single lock of hair left on the crown of a shaven head. The fact is *cūḍā* means crest or both together crownpiece or anything of that sort, and so may mean "lock" or "turban" according to circumstances; we have seen that the same holds good for *moli*, *mauḍa*. But when we find, as above, *moliya saddhim cūḷam* as the equivalent of *mukutaṃ sakeśam*, it is obvious that *cūḷam* corresponds to *mukutaṃ* and means the headdress on the hair, not the hair alone.

It is therefore natural to equate *moli* with *keśa*, and this may be legitimate. But it should be borne in mind that the usual meaning of *mauḷi*, *mauḍa*, etc. is simply "headdress" (turban or crown as the case may be), and so perhaps we ought really to render "grasping crest and turban together". In *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, the hair (*mūrdhajā*) is said to have been worthy to be covered by (*pariṣṭanaksamāh*) a royal *mauḷi*, which is therefore certainly not the hair, but the turban.

cuts them off with the sword in his right ; I render " grasping the turban together with the topknot ". The product, *molinā cūlam* " topknot and turban ", he casts into the air, where, as it floats, it is called *cūlāmaṇi-veṭhanaṃ* " Jewel-crested Turban ". It is received by Sakka, and enshrined in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, in the Cūlāmaṇi-cetiya,¹ " Shrine of the Jewel-crest(-ed Turban)," or " Shrine of the Precious Turban ".²

It will be observed that *cūla* (or *cūlā*) = *cūlāmaṇi* = *cūlāmaṇi-veṭhana* ; other examples of the short forms may be cited in the well-known Bharhut inscription *Bhagavato Cūḍāmaha* and in the name of a Coḷa Buddhist temple at Negapatam, viz. the Cūlāmaṇi-vihāra.

The Hair-relic (*kesa-dhātu*) of the Buddha is quite another story.³ It consisted of hairs plucked from his head and given by the Buddha to the travelling merchants from whom he received the food offering in the quadruple bowl. It is evident that this relic must have consisted of hairs two inches



FIG. A.—*Cūḍāmaha*, Bharhut.

¹ This is one of the many cases in which the word *cetiya* does not mean a stūpa. The first Buddhist stūpa was erected for the *kesadhātu*, the Hair relic properly so-called ; this was subsequent to the attainment of Buddhahood, and for this first Buddhist dagaba the Buddha himself prepared the model (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, p. 47).

Both at Bharhut and at Sāñci the *Cūḍāmaha* is shown upon an altar within a temple, and in full view.

² Very possibly *maṇi*, in the combination *cūlāmaṇi*, should not always be taken as equivalent to *maṇi-vicitta*, but simply as " precious treasure " ; cf. *striratna*, etc., amongst the Seven Treasures of Kings, and *mauḍa rayana* in the *Paśiṣṭaparvan*, rendered " pearl of a diadem " not " pearl-diadem " in Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 139 (= Jacobi, p. 39).

In a Sinhalese lithic inscription of the twelfth century we find *śikāmaṇi* instead of *cūlāmaṇi* (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, ii, p. 252 ; here, p. 254, for " crest gems " read " Crest Gem " or " Precious Headdress ").

³ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, i, 81. These hairs were enshrined in a stūpa (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, p. 47).

in length, as according to our text, in the *cūḍā-chedana* scene, once shorn, so it ever after remained.

We possess a number of representations of the Crest-relic in the art; at Bharhut (Fig. A) and Sāñcī, it is represented as resting on an altar in a shrine, which we know from the Bharhut inscription represents the Sudhammā-Sabhā of Indra's paradise.¹ Here, in accordance with contemporary fashion, the hair is visible, and even conspicuous. Two later representations show the Turban-relic on an altar as an object of worship; one on a Kuṣāna pediment from Mathurā (Pl. IV, Fig. 2),² another Gandhāran (Pl. IV, Fig. 3).³ In both cases the regular Kuṣāna turban is unmistakable. Nothing is now seen of the hair, and this is quite natural, for it would all be inside the turban.

That the Bhagavato Cūḍāmaha was thought of as essentially a Turban-relic, and only incidentally a hair-relic too,⁴ can equally be demonstrated from the texts. When the Bodhisattva reflects that the *cūḍā* is inappropriate for an ascetic, it is because a turban is the most distinctive mark of secular costume (cf. *Milindapañha*, cited above). True, he later established an order in which tonsure was compulsory; but it was not compulsory for all or any ascetics, and we know both from the old reliefs and from the statement in *Gautama Dharmaśāstra*, iii, 22, "A monk may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of his head," that in some orders the hair was worn long.⁵ In all the early Buddhist reliefs,

¹ Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. 16, or *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 43; Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pl. vi, a.

² And Vogel, *Mathura School of Sculpture*, A.S.I., A.R., 1906-7, pl. lvi; *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathura*, No. J 1. Another example may be seen, ib., pl. vi (= H 11), in the niche above the Indra-sāla-guhā.

³ Also Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, fig. 186; Griggs, *Historical Buildings in India*, pl. 90.

⁴ Gautamī, in *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, even thinks of the Bodhisattva's long hair as having been cast away on the ground (*praceritāste bhuvī*).

⁵ Similarly, *Āpastambha*, I, 1, 2, ³¹⁻³², with reference to students.

Cf. Chandaka's description of ascetics in general terms, *Lalita-Vistara*, ch. xv, Lefmann, p. 210: they are *jaṭāmakuṭa* and *dīrghanakhakeśah* "their matted hair is their crown, and their nails and hair are long".

Brahmā, always represented as an ascetic, is represented with long coiled

Brahmanical ascetics (Jaṭilas and others) are represented with long coiled hair ; the Bodhisattva in the same way, in the Vessantara Jātaka at Sāñcī. But now the Bodhisattva has in mind the tonsured friar whom he had seen in the city as the Fourth Sign ; and this is why he speaks of the hair (in the *Nidānakthā*) as unsuited to a *samaṇa*, and has to use his sword to cut off hair and turban together. Because the emphasis is on the turban, nevertheless, we find “ the turban together with the hair ”, and not “ the hair together with the turban ”.

It is hardly necessary to account for the great value set upon the Turban-relic. Throughout the East the headdress is highly honoured, and its various forms are distinctive signs of rank. In India, particularly so ; the turban, indeed, may even represent an absent person, for example, in some cases of satī, where the husband has been slain in battle, and the body lost, he is represented on the pyre by the turban, with which the widow dies.

2. THE HAIR

We must next take into account the reliefs which represent the Bodhisattva in the act of *cūdā-chedana*. Here we find an immediate disagreement with the texts ; for he is represented as holding a long tress of hair in one hand, and cutting it with the sword in the other, and it is clear that the turban has already been removed. Probably the oldest of these is the Gandhāran fragment found in Turkestan ;¹ there is nothing more of the sort till we come to the Sārnāth relief,² then to that of Boro-buḍūr,³ and finally to that of the Ānanda temple

hair, whence his epithet Śikhin. So too, Śiva, as a yogī, is not *munda*, but wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, a crown of matted locks. Thus long hair cannot be called a distinctive mark of the layman as contrasted with the religious.

In the *Aggika Jātaka* (No. 129) a tonsure leaving a scalp lock is indicated for ascetics. Cowell, i, p. 283, has a footnote erroneously stating that Buddhist monks practise this tonsure.

¹ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 209, 220, and pl. xlvi; cf. *Serindia*, p. 858, n.

² Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 67.

³ Krom, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 75, 76 (with discussion and nearly exhaustive references).

in Pagān.¹ The last is peculiar only in that the hair sticks up straight like a tube, and has some sort of ornament at the top of the "tube". A complication sometimes arises, inasmuch as Kaṅṭhaka in certain cases is made to receive and carry home the headdress; at Borobudūr, for example, he receives what has now become, not a turban, but an elaborate crown (in accordance with contemporary fashion), while the gods receive the hair. But this is an exception; and the question, whether the relic was to be enshrined on earth or in heaven does not bear directly on our problem.

The really important point is that according to the plastic tradition the whole of the hair was grasped in a single tress in the left hand, and cut off with a single stroke; and even according to the literary tradition, in which the hair is cut while still covered by the turban, this effectively held good. In any case the *Nidānakathā* tells us that "the hair was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to the head, remaining of that length as long as he lived". The most natural thing, then, would be to represent the single thick tress as reduced to a single thick short curl (*āvatta*). This is just how we find it represented in the early Kuṣāna Buddha type, the first in the list of four types given above; that the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved,² but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over the scalp into the single tress. The thickness of this smooth hair is always clearly indicated in the sculptures. This type is perfectly exemplified in the well-known Bodhisattva from the Kaṭrā mound (Pl. IV, Fig. 1); but many other examples are known,

¹ Cohn, *Buddha in die Kunst des Ostens*, pl. 73. Seidenstücker, *Die Buddha-legende in den Skulpturen des Ananda-Tempels zu Pagan*, Hamburg, 1916, p. 47.

² It could be argued that perhaps the head had been partly shaved in secular life, leaving only a scalp-lock. But there is no evidence of any such custom to be found in the early art; and in the *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, we find Gautamī speaks regretfully of the Bodhisattva's hair as having been before the tonsure, "beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves."

both Buddhist and Jaina.¹ Very often, of course, the projecting curl is broken away, leaving a scar, but even then the smooth surface of the head clearly distinguishes the type from the later one in which the whole head is covered with many small curls.

This new type with many curls appears certainly before the end of the Kuṣāna period and probably about the middle of the second century, becoming almost universal, in Mathurā, in Gandhāra, and in later art throughout the East. The tradition preserved in the *Nidānakathā* would still account for the length and curling of the hair; but it must have come to be believed that the hair, instead of being cut off at a single stroke, had been shorn by a succession of strokes, leaving the hair of equal length all over the head, as would seem to have been inevitable if turban and hair were removed together, in accordance with the literary tradition. In other words, the representation of many curls would seem to bring the formula into closer correspondence with the literary tradition; but, further than this, we cannot say just why the change was made in the plastic representations, especially as the actual tonsure continued to be, and is always represented as, the cutting of a single tress. But, whatever the reasons for the change may have been, and wherever it was first made, it is clear that the literary and plastic traditions together provide a rational and sufficient explanation for the representation of the Buddha's hair either in one curl or in many curls.

¹ For a very fine example of the Kaṭrā mound type, now in Munich, see Scherman, L., in *Pantheon*, 1928, Heft 3, illustration on p. 149.

For Jaina examples representing Mahāvira, see Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pls. xvii, 1, and ci, 2.

In *Aupapātika-Sūtra*, § 16, describing the appearance of Mahāvira, we find *piṇḍiy'-agga-sirae* "with a projection on the top of his head". This is again ambiguous, for it equally describes the early type with the spiral lock, and the later "*uṣṇīṣa*". Cf. Leumann, in *Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, viii, 2, 1883, p. 139 (glossary, s.v. *piṇḍiyā*). The tonsure of Mahāvira is supposed to have been performed by the tearing out of the hair, as related in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, and represented in the corresponding illustrations (*Cat. Indian Coll.*, Boston, iv, pl. 2).

A few words more on the subject of the first type, with a single curl; I propose to call this the "Kapardin type". For it may be explained, not only by Buddhist tradition as above, but as representing a current type of ascetic coiffure, both Brāhmanical and Jaina. Max Müller (*S.B.E.*, xxxii, p. 424) has the following note on the epithet "kapardin":—

"*Kapardin* is an epithet not only of Rudra but also of Pūsan (vi, 55, 2; ix, 67, 11), and of a Vedic clan, the Tr̥tsus or Vasiṣṭhas (viii, 83, 8); see Roth, *Zur. Lit. und Geschichte des Weda*, pp. 94, seq.; Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii, p. 207. *Kaparda* is the name of a shell, and the hair twisted together in the form of a shell seems to have suggested the name of *Kapardin*."

Śiva is several times called Kapardin in the *Mahābhārata* (Drona Parva). A Yakṣa Kapardin is mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*.¹ In any case, the known *kapardin* type of ascetic coiffure may have had something to do with the determination of the earliest Mathurā Buddha type. It should not be overlooked, however, that the hair of the true Kapardin is long; the single curl as represented in Pl. IV, Fig. 1, represents the Kapardin coiffure only in miniature, and is not to be regarded as a *jaṭāmukuta*.

3. THE *uṣṇīṣa* PROBLEM

The earliest text that bears on the problem is the *Mahāpadāna-Sutta*²; there the last in the list of the thirty-two *lakkhaṇas* proper to a (or the) Mahā-Puruṣa³ (Great Male) destined to become a Cakravartin (Universal Emperor, or King of The World), or a Buddha, is this: *Deva-kumāra uṇhīso-sīso*, "the divine young prince has a turbaned head

¹ Tawney, translation, p. 20.

² S.B.B. iii (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2, 1910). Most authors agree on a date between the third and first centuries B.C.

³ The Mahā-Puruṣa from a Brāhmanical point of view is Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). Waddell has interpreted the *uṣṇīṣa* in this connexion (*The Buddha's Diadem . . . or Uṣṇīṣa . . .*, O.Z., iii, 1915); cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philology*, p. 29. Buddha, in the *Mahābhārata*, is already an avatār of Viṣṇu.

(or simply, 'turban-head').” Similarly in the *Mahāvastu*, *uṣṇīṣasīrṣam* (the passage is probably interpolated, see Senart, ii, p. vi); and *Lalita-Vistara*, ch. vii, *uṣṇīṣo-śīṣo maharāja-sarvārthasiddha-kumārah*¹ to the same effect.

Now what is an *uṣṇīṣa* (Pāli, *uṇhīsa*)? Later tradition, both literary and plastic, makes it a bony protuberance on the top of the Buddha's skull. Let us ignore for the present this interpretation, and observe the meaning and usage of the word before the creation of Buddha images. Etymologically the word means a “protection from the sun, sunshade”. In Brāhmanical usage generally it meant a turban, always an honourable, and often specifically a royal headdress; it is specified as worn by the king in the Rājasūya (coronation) and Vājapeya ceremonies, and by Brāhman students at the completion of Vedic studies; also by Vrātyas (*Atharva Veda*, xv, 2). The term may also have been applied to the royal umbrella; in the *Mahābhārata* we find *chattrākoti-śīrṣa*, instead of *uṣṇīṣa-śīrṣa* and the Chinese text cited by Watters² has as one of the *lakṣaṇas* that there is “on the top of his head the *uṣṇīṣa* like a deva sunshade.” Beside this the word is used to designate the coping of a stone railing. Later we find *uṣṇīṣa-bhūṣaṇa*, diadem or coronet. In the *Milindapañha*, v, 3, *uṇhīsa* is used in the regular sense of turban, as one of the five insignia of royalty; Śiva is called *uṣṇīṣin* in the *Mahābhārata*, probably in the sense given by Watters (loc. cit., i, 196) as having “the hair done up into a coil on the top of the head; some Brāhmanical ascetics in ancient reliefs, as remarked above, do, in fact, wear their long hair coiled turban-like about the head.

So far we have found no literary evidence whatever to suggest that the word *uṣṇīṣa*, *uṇhīsa*, ever referred to any

¹ Foucaux renders, “la tête couronnée par un protubérance du crâne”; but he is evidently relying on later commentators; actually there is no word for “couronnée” and no contemporary authority for *protubérance du crâne*.

² On Yuan Chwang.

physical peculiarity, such as a bony protuberance.¹ Nor is any such peculiarity represented in the art before the middle of the second century A.D.

What then is to be understood by the *Mahapadāna-Sutta* passage? Another of the *lakkhaṇas* gives the Bodhisattva forty teeth; here the peculiarity in view seems to me much rather connected with the abnormal number of teeth, than with their precocious advent. In any case it is hard to believe that it was originally meant that the child was born with a turban on its head or with fully developed teeth. A very simple explanation can be suggested, however: the thirty-two *lakkhaṇas* were borrowed in their entirety from Brāhmanical sources,² and are really the characteristics of an adult Cakravartin and Mahā-Puruṣa and as such and without modification were applied to the infant Bodhisattva, when the Cakravartin concept came into prominence.³ The result is a description altogether too "previous"; and, if we try to rationalise it (and this was probably not attempted or felt to be necessary at first, the main point being the magnification of the Buddha), we can only interpret the *lakkhaṇas* in question as (1) "destined to wear a turban" (just as we speak of a child born with a silver spoon in its mouth), and (2) as "destined to have forty teeth".

Further allusions to or citations of the *lakkhaṇas* in relatively

¹ Stede and Rhys Davids, *Pali Dictionary*, give "turban" as the *only* meaning of *unhīsa*, with the following references: DN. i, 7, ii, 19 = iii, 145 (cf. Dial., ii, 16); Jā. ii, 88; Miln. 330; DA. i, 89; DhsA. i, 98. In *Majjhima Nikāya*, 89 (ii, 119) King Pasenadi lays down his sword and *unhīsa* before approaching the Buddha, and here, too, *unhīsa* can only mean "turban".

² The texts consistently inform us that the *lakkhaṇas* were recognized in the infant Bodhisattva by Brāhman soothsayers (*naimittaka*). Divination of this sort is expressly forbidden to good Buddhists; whereas "... the business of Brāhmins is concerned ... with the knowledge of lucky, marks (*lakkhaṇam*)" (*Milindapañha*, iv, 3, 26). Somewhat mysteriously and exceptionally, Sam. Nik. 1022 attributes the *Mahāpuruṣa lakkhaṇas* to Bāveri, "the Babylonian."

³ The Cakravartin concept, as remarked by Przyluski, *Açokāvādana*, pp. 102, 113, seems to have come into prominence at the same time that the Aśoka legend was elaborated, thus probably in the second or first century B.C.

early texts give us no further information.¹ The earliest Early Indian images do indeed exhibit certain of the *lakṣaṇas*, such as the *ūrṇā*, and the wheel-marks on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; but they do not attempt to represent an *uṣṇīṣa*, either as a turban, or, until later, as a bony protuberance. The forty teeth, not being visible, never presented any iconographic problem.

M. Foucher's theory of the origin of the *uṣṇīṣa* as a bony protuberance I understand to be as follows: Gandhāran sculptors made the first Buddha images, and represented the hair in flowing tresses gathered together into a topknot, in Indian fashion, avoiding the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Indian imitators, dissatisfied with so obvious a departure from the facts as they must have been, for all are agreed that the Bodhisattva cut off his hair, interpreted the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump and supposed that this bump was what had been referred to in the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso* of the *Mahapadāna Sutta*; they replaced the long hair with short curls (more or less in accordance with the tradition preserved in the *Nidāna-kathā*), leaving the cranial bump conspicuously in evidence. In this case, evidently the Gandhāran sculptors accepted the correction made by their Indian brethren, for the type with the protuberance and the short curls very soon predominates in both areas.

On this it may be remarked, that many of the Gandhāran images with flowing locks do actually seem to represent a protuberance covered by long hair, rather than long hair alone.² In any case, it is certain that the later Gandhāran, as well as the later Mathurā, images exhibit the protuberance covered with short curls. The problem before us is to learn

¹ E.g. *Lakkhana-Suttanta* (S.B.B., iv = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3, with a valuable discussion by Rhys Davids); *Milindapañha*, iii, 6, 3; *Aśvaghōṣa, Sutrālamkāra* (Huber, p. 397—here the Buddha, adorned with the *lakṣaṇas* "looked like a painting"); *Lalita-Vistara*; etc.

² See e.g. M.F.A. Bulletin, No. 104, and Hackin, J., *Sculptures gréco-bouddhiques du Kapiśa, Fondation Piot*, xxviii, p. 39, and pl. iv.

why this type was substituted for the earlier Mathurā form, which I have called the *Kapardin* type ?

I do not believe that a definite answer to this question can be given at present. That a misunderstanding took place has been designated by Cohn as a brutal solution.¹ Yet I think we cannot avoid the conclusion that a new interpretation of the old texts lay behind the change. For the only explanation that I can suggest is that in the beginning the old texts had not been studied ; no rationalisation of the *lakṣaṇas* had been attempted, because it had not been realized that once inserted in the Buddha legend, they would need to be explained. Later on we reach a period of definition and commentary, culminating in the work of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century. Buddhaghosa himself writes long after the practical problem of iconographic representation had been settled ; he had the Buddha figures with a protuberant *uṣṇīṣa* no less than the old texts before him. Even so he finds himself in difficulties, and, as Rhys Davids has remarked, his interpretation is not at all satisfactory. He says with regard to *uṇhīso-sīso* : “ This refers to the fullness either of the forehead or the cranium. In either case the rounded or highly developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative effect of a crested turban and the smooth symmetry of a water bubble.”

The problem must have presented itself much earlier, at the time when the worship of the cult image received official sanction and became an orthodox institution. This may have been some little time after the first images of the *kapardin* type had been made. At that time the old books would have been examined with a view to testing the propriety of the current representations, and naturally the passages relating to the *lakṣhaṇas* would have been first consulted, for these would constitute the only “ Śilpaśāstra ” then available on the subject. It was assumed that the *lakṣhaṇas* having been recognized in infancy must have been present in infancy,

¹ *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, p. xxv.

and so *uṅhīso-sīso* had to be interpreted as a physical appearance. The result was the representation of the *uṣṇīṣa* or *uṅhīsa* as a protuberance ; and at the same time, as we have seen, the tonsure was reinterpreted as resulting in a crop of short curls, rather than in a single coil. The new formula met with complete success (the only late example of the older fashion being the Māṅkuwār image); and Buddhaghosa later on endorses the accepted solution. We find later on a considerable cult of the *uṣṇīṣa* in this new sense ; the Chinese pilgrims speak of stupas at Hidda containing pieces of it.¹ Naturally, we cannot accept the supposed existence of such relics as evidence for the real existence of a protuberance ; it is even quite likely that the stūpas in question had been erected over a turban relic (*uṣṇīṣa*) in the first place, and later came to be regarded as containing a relic of bone. The fact that the turban was really in Indraloka would hardly have prevented the erection of memorial stūpas, or Cūḍāmaha-cetiyas, on earth.

Beside the literary sources, it is possible that older iconographic sources existed and played some part in the evolution of the new Buddha type. Several scholars have called attention to the figure of Indra in the form of the Brāhman Śānti found on a railing pillar at Bodhgayā set up by Nāgadeva about 100 B.C.² It has been generally agreed that there is a protuberance on the head, and that the head is covered with short curly hair ; but as Bachhofer points out, Indra is not here represented as a Cakravartin, and we cannot regard the protuberance as an *uṣṇīṣa*. Nevertheless, this figure, provides a prototype for the later Buddhist and Jaina formula.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, i, pp. 195-8, with full references.

² Bachhofer, L., *Eine Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodhgayā*, *Jahrb. As. Kunst*, ii, 1925. Kramrisch, S., *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, pp. 113, 114, and pl. 31. *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 40. Attention was first called to this relief by Sir John Marshall, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 1096. Buddha-like heads with curly hair and cranial protuberance occurring in lotus medallions at Bodhgayā have been cited as early Buddha prototypes, but they occur exclusively on the later pillars not antedating the Gupta period.

One text, viz. the *Cītralakṣaṇa*, ably edited and translated from the Tibetan by Dr. Laufer, has not been referred to.¹ In this text the dimensions of the *uṣṇāṣa* of a Cakravartin are given, and are such as to show that a protuberance on the head is intended. It should be observed, however, that notwithstanding that Hindu deities are generally represented in the guise of great kings, rulers of particular spheres or of the whole universe, no known example of Hindu sculpture presents us with a deity having a cranial protuberance²; the peculiarity seems to be exclusively Buddhist and Jaina, and this supports my view that it resulted from a dogmatic interpretation placed upon the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso*, and promulgated upon some special occasion, either a council *ad hoc* or some council dealing generally with the definition and interpretation of the canon—perhaps in the reign of Kaṇiṣka, and at Mathurā. Moreover, it does not seem to me necessary to assume any very early date for the *Cītralakṣaṇa*, though it may be called the oldest, or one of the oldest, Śilpaśāstras extant.

The latter part of the present section of our inquiry is admittedly speculative. But this at least emerges as a definite fact, that we have no literary or iconographic evidence for the interpretation of *uṣṇāṣa* as a bony protuberance previous to about A.D. 100 at the earliest; before that time we have certainly no right to translate the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso* as "having a protuberance on the head". And though the early Mathurā Buddha figures have certainly a protuberance, it is evidently a coil of hair, and bears no resemblance whatever to the *uṣṇāṣa* "bump" of the later formula.

CROWNED BUDDHAS

Inasmuch as the Bodhisattva put off his royal robes when first adopting the ascetic life, and inasmuch as all adornments

¹ Laufer, *Dokumente der indischen Kunst, I. Malerei. Das Cītralakṣaṇa*, Leipzig, 1913.

² Exception must be made of the figure of Bali pouring out the *dakṣiṇoda* in the Trivikrama compositions of Caves II, III, IV at Bādāmi (Banerji, R. D., in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 25, pp. 19, 31, and pls. *ix* and *xvi*).

are forbidden to Buddhist monks, it has often been stated by myself and others that such representations must be regarded as uncanonical and unorthodox, and it has also been held that the type is of late origin.¹ But we have no right to assume that a common and carefully represented type is aberrant; we ought rather to try to discover its significance.

It will be remarked at once that the Buddha figure comes into being only after the Buddha has come to be regarded as a deity, in fact as *Devātideva*, god of gods. At the same time the Cakravartin concept, that of an ideal King of the World, plays a great part in the iconographic development; the Buddha must be provided with all the *lakṣaṇas* of such a being. Then there is the doctrine of the Three Bodies of a Buddha, the Dharmakāya (Logos-body), the Sambhogakāya (the appearance in glory as a personal deity), and the Nirmānakāya (the body manifest of an earthly Buddha). Finally we have the concept of an Ādi-Buddha, a primordial being and essence from Whom proceed all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, manifested on whatever plane.

Not all of these doctrines are certainly known to date back to the Kuṣāna period, where the problem meets us almost at the beginning of the Buddha iconography; but they belong to the essence of Mahāyāna theology and must have been present in some form at a very early stage of the development. Indeed, the representation of Dhyāni Buddhas in the head-dresses of Bodhisattvas already in the Kuṣāna period and in Gandhāran art² amounts to proof of the currency of the Trikāya theory in the early days of Buddha iconography.

It is clear that any one of these conceptions might suffice to account for the representation of a Buddha, or any particular Buddha such as Gautama, with whom we are chiefly concerned, as garbed like a god in royal robes: needless to remark

¹ Chanda, R. P., in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1921-2, p. 105. The oldest example seems to be the turbaned Buddha of Pl. V, Fig. 5 (if not a Bodhisattva).

² *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 78, 95.

that the headdress (turban, or crown according to the period) is the most significant feature of such a garb. Mr. Majumdar, in an able discussion recently published,¹ has plausibly argued that all crowned Buddhas represent Ādi-Buddha; in many cases, however, especially where a pseudo-historical situation is depicted, as in the common instance of the Pāla reliefs² representing a central crowned Buddha in the earth-touching pose, surrounded by representations of the remainder of the Eight Great Events, it would be far simpler to suppose that we have to do with a glorification of the earthly Buddha, by the addition of attributes proper to the Sambhogakāya, and reminding us that the Buddha is more than man.

This last view seems to me to be supported by a relief (Pl. V, Fig. 8) such as that of the central panel in the verandah of the caitya-cave at Kārli, which can only be described as the Coronation of the Buddha, and curiously recalls mediaeval European representations of the Coronation of the Virgin. Here the Buddha, in full Gupta style, with *uṣṇīṣa* and short curls, is seated on a lotus, the hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, with the wheel and deer below; it is undoubtedly a representation of the First Sermon in the Deer Park at Benares. But immediately above, though not yet touching the Buddha's head, is a crown, supported by two flying *devas* or angels.³ On either side of the Buddha stand attendant Bodhisattvas; incidentally it is of interest to note that the Nāgas, who more often support the stem of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, here support the pillar that bears the wheel.

Iconographically, the derivation of the "Coronation" is fairly clear. In several Kuṣāna reliefs representing "Indra's Visit" (e.g. A.S.I., A.R., 1909-10, pl. xxva, also H. 11 in

¹ *Ādi-Buddha in the Eastern School of Art*, Ann. Rep. Varendra Research Soc., Rajshahi, 1926-7. References to the literature are given; Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 236, and Sahni (crowned Buddha from Parihāsa-pura) in A.S.I., A.R., 1915-16, may be added.

² E.g. *M.F.A. Bulletin*, No. 132, p. 30.

³ Similar coronations are sometimes represented in connexion with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.

the Mathurā Museum) an upper range of niches shows the Crest-relic adored by deities, the arrangement being always such that the turban occupies a position immediately above the head of the seated Buddha in the cave below.¹ From this it is but a step to a representation of angels or devas supporting a turban or crown above the Buddha's head, in fact, to a "Coronation". Some Gandhāran reliefs are similar (Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pls. xcix, 3, and cxvii, 1).

Thus it would appear that we ought not to regard the appearance of crowned Buddhas in art as anomalous; we can only do so if we forget that the cult image of the Buddha, and the Buddha himself in Mahāyāna theology, are not so much historical figures as mythological symbols. The activity of the earthly Buddha, originally a living memory, has become, as it were, the *līlā* of a deity; it is related in the later literature with a corresponding miraculous enhancement. All things considered, it is perhaps surprising that the Buddha should not have been represented more often and more constantly with the outward pomp of a divinity. It will be remembered, however, that even a great Hindu divinity may be represented as a yogī and ascetic, as in the case of Śiva, so that the panoply of royalty appropriate to a deity must not be thought of as essential. In the case of the Buddha the force of the historical tradition, long established not only by the literature, but even in the early art before the Buddha figure appears in human form, certainly maintained for the *līlā* the aspect of veridical narrative. But the Buddha is equally a Great Being, a deity, whether he appears in monastic robes or as a king.

APPENDIX

The use of the word *molibaddha* in the *Milindapañha*, cited above recalls a pertinent passage in Hemacandra's

¹ See my "Early Indian Iconography, Pt. I, Indra", in *Eastern Art*, vol. i, No. 1, 1928.

Parisiṣṭaparvan (Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahā-rāṣṭrī*, p. 32). A certain Pajjōya has made off with one of the palace servants and an image of a Jina; he is captured, and branded on the forehead as a criminal. But as it is a Holyday, the king Udāyaṇa releases him, and invests him with a golden *paṭṭa* at the same time endowing him with a kingdom. The text has *paṭṭo ya suvaṇṇo . . . baddho*, literally "ties on a golden *paṭṭa*". Meyer, translating (*Hindu Tales*, p. 111) has "golden turban". There follows the remark, according to Meyer's rendering, to which I have added the original terms, "From that time on kings were invested with the turban (*paṭṭa-baddha*); before this they were invested with the diadem (*mauḍa-baddha*)." I have always regarded this passage as of interest in connexion with the history of crowns and turbans in India, but had not consulted the original. Now I see that we have here, indeed, an interesting reference to the disuse of turbans, and even a reason assigned, inasmuch as a precedent was established for a different procedure; but nothing is said of crowns or diadems. Here *mauḍa-baddha* is a turban,¹ *paṭṭa-baddha* a frontlet or fillet.

In the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, 1, 89, some luxurious monks are blamed because they "tie on the forehead a turban-strip (*uṇhīsa-paṭṭam*) of the length of a *ratana*, four spans wide, showing the edge of the ends of the hair, like forked lightning on the face of a cloud; (or) they wear a *cūḍāmaṇi*".

¹ Elsewhere (Hemacandra, *Parisiṣṭaparvan*, Story of Domuha, Jacobi p. 39, and Meyer, pp. 139, 140) *mauḍa* alone is used for headdress (in this case presumably a crown, as it is found in good condition while digging the foundations for a *cittasabbā*). So also in the story of Saṇānikumāra (Jacobi, p. 26, Meyer, p. 85) *mauḍa* is the turban or crown used in the coronation ceremony. It is evident that just as in the Pali texts *cūḍāmaṇi veṭhana* may be contracted to *cūḍāmaṇi* or *cūḍā*, so in the Jaina texts *mauḍa-baddha* is the same as *mauḍa-rayana* or simply *mauḍa*; and "turban" or "crown" is to be understood according to the circumstances and contemporary fashion. For similar contractions see Franke, *Kurzungen der Composita in Indischen*, Wiener Zeit. Kunde des Morgenlandes, viii, 1894.

In the Story of Naggai (Meyer, p. 181) where the chief queen is *paṭṭarājñī*, this should be rendered "invested with the frontlet", rather than "with the turban" as Meyer has it.

It cannot be denied that a turban could be arranged to conceal a brand on the forehead (cf. Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*, World's Classics edition, 1916, p. 501); and that according to the Dictionaries, "turban" or "tiara" is one of the less common meanings of *paṭṭa*. But we have to take into account that in the ancient (cf. *puvvaṃ* of the text) ceremony it was precisely a turban, and not a diadem or crown that was used; and that the primary sense of *paṭṭa* is something flat, and quite often a piece of flat metal, also a frontlet or forehead ornament. It is obvious that a thin gold plate bound on the forehead would conceal the branded letters much more effectively than would the folds of a turban specially tied. I propose to render *paṭṭo suvaṇṇo* "golden frontlet", and the subsequent passage, "From that time on kings were invested with the frontlet; before this they were invested with the turban."

That this interpretation is almost certainly the correct one will appear further from a consideration of the ceremonies of investiture in Ceylon (cf. my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 209, 302, and pl. xxiii, 3). Sinhalese *paṭabandīnavā* is "to confer a title or office by binding a metal plate on the forehead". Such a plate, whether of silver or plain or jewelled gold, is called a *naḷalpaṭa*. Davy, *Travels in Ceylon*, p. 163, describes in some detail the coronation of a Sinhalese king, in which the principal ceremonies were the girding on of the State Sword, and the tying of the inscribed *naḷalpaṭa* on the king's forehead. It is true that I cannot cite a corresponding ceremony in India,¹ but I have little doubt it could be traced; and if not, it would only follow that Hemacandra's comment dating from the third quarter of the twelfth century, had reference to the introduction of a temporary fashion which survived only in Ceylon.

¹ The subject of *paṭas* is treated at some length in Varāha Mihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (ed. Kern, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865, p. 241). The dimensions, etc., are given of *paṭas* proper for kings, Yuvarājas and Senāpatis; the *paṭa* is to be made of pure gold.



FIG. 1.—Bodhisattva (Buddha) : Kapardin type.



FIG. 2.—The cūḍāmaha enshrined.



FIG. 3.—The cūḍāmaha enshrined.



FIG. 4.—Bodhisattva or donor.



FIG. 5.—Bodhisattva ?



FIG. 6.—Head of Śiva.



FIG. 7.—Side view of Fig. 6.



FIG. 8.—“Coronation” of the Buddha.

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